

Message Text

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E.O. 11652: N/A

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SUBJECT: KMT MANIFESTO

1. SUMMARY AND INTRODCUTION: THE SPECIAL SESSION OF THE TENTH KUOMINTANG CENTRAL COMMITTEE MET IN TAIPEI ON APRIL 28, 1975, AND ISSUED A MANIFESTO LAYING OUT BASIC GUIDELINES FOR THE PARTY'S WORK FOLLOWING THE DEATH OF CHIANG KAI-SHEK WHO WAS TSUNG TSAI (DIRECTOR-GENERAL) OF THE PARTY. THE DOCUMENT CARRIES FIVE PRINCIPAL THEMES: CONTINUITY FOLLOWING THE DEATH OF PRESIDENT CHIANG, REAFFIRMATION OF BASIC NATIONAL POLICIES, STRONG LEADERSHIP AT THE CENTER (PREMIER CHIANG CHING-KUO), SELF-RELIANCE AND, SOMEWHAT CONTRADICTORILY, INTERDEPENDENCE (PRESUMABLY WITH THE US). NONE OF THESE THEMES IS NEW. END SUMMARY.

2. THE INTRODUCTORY SECTION OF THE MANIFESTO EXPRESSES THE PARTY'S SORROW AT THE PASSING OF PRESIDENT CHIANG AND CALLS ON THE PEOPLE OF THE NATION AND MEMBERS OF THE
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PARTY TO "STRICTLY OBSERVE PRESIDENT CHIANG'S WILL TO

REALIZE THE THREE PRINCIPLES OF THE PEOPLE, REJUVENATE OUR NATIONAL CULTURE, REMAIN IN THE DEMOCRATIC CAMP, FURTHER STRENGTHEN OUR UNITY, BE MORE COURAGEOUS AND EXERT MORE EFFORTS TO RECOVER THE MAINLAND." THE COMMITTEE PLEDGES ITSELF TO FOLLOW THE LATE PRESIDENT'S INSTRUCTIONS STEADFASTLY AND TO "CARRY OUT THE TASKS WITHOUT FAIL."

3. THE BODY OF THE MANIFESTO IS DIVIDED INTO THREE MAIN SECTIONS. IN THE FIRST SECTION, ENTITLED "CONSOLIDATION OF THE CENTER OF REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP", THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE ANNOUNCES ITS DECISION TO RETAIN THE LATE PRESIDENT AS TSUNG TSAI OF THE PARTY AND CREATE A NEW POSITION FOR THE LEADER OF THE PARTY--CHAIRMAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND CENTRAL STANDING COMMITTEE. PREMIER CHIANG CHING-KUO IS UNANIMOUSLY ELECTED TO THIS POSITION.

4. THE COMMITTEE ALSO EXPRESSES THE HOPE THAT THE "NATION AND MEMBERS OF THE PARTY WILL ENHANCE OUR ESPRIT DE CORPS TO SUPPORT AND OBEY THE CENTRAL LEADERSHIPSO THAT APPROPRIATE AND EFFECTIVE ACTIONS CAN BE TAKEN WHENEVER NECESSARY IN SOLVING SUDDEN CRISES, CARRYING ON PROGRAMS FOR RENOVATION AND PROGRESS, STRENGTHENING NATIONAL DEFENSE CAPABILITIES, AND ACCOMPLISHING THE TASK OF NATIONAL RECOVERY."

5. IN A SECOND SECTION ENTITLED, "ADHERENCE TO THE ANTI-COMMUNIST NATIONAL POLICY" THE COMMITTEE REAFFIRMS THE BASIC ANTI-COMMUNIST POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT AND CALLS FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE THREE PRINCIPLES OF THE PEOPLE. ITS FINAL PARAGRAPHS REITERATE THE ROC'S DETERMINATION THAT "UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES" WILL THE ROC NEGOTIATE WITH THE PRC. IN SUPPORT OF THIS POSITION IT ALSO SAID, "THE TRAGEDY IN INDOCHINA HAS PROVED THAT 'DETENTE' AND 'NEGOTIATIONS' ARE THE VICIOUS 'UNITED-FRONT' SCHEMES OF THE COMMUNISTS FOR AGGRESSION AND EXPANSION. IT ALSO PROVES THAT THE WISHFUL THINKING OF PROPONENTS OF 'DETENTE' WITH THE COMMUNISTS ACTUALLY LEADS TO FAILURE; AND THAT TO TRY TO 'NEGOTIATE' WITH THE COMMUNISTS ACTUALLY INVITES SELF-DESTRUCTION".

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YM A THIRD SECTION ENTITLED "REMAIN IN THE DEMOCRATIC CAMP AND PURSUE SELF-RELIANCE" EMPHASIZES THE TWIN (AND CONTRADICTIONARY) THEMES OF SELF-RELIANCE AND INTERDEPENDENCE: "...NATIONAL SURVIVAL IS BASED ON THE PEOPLE BEING INDEPENDENT, HARD-WORKING AND SELF-RELIANT.... DURING THE PAST TWO DECADES, THE CONTINUOUS PROGRESS ON OUR BASTION AND THE CONSTANT GROWTH OF OUR REVOLUTIONARY FORCES HAVE BEEN SUSTAINED MAINLY BY OUR NATIONAL SPIRIT OF SELF-RELIANCE."

7. "THE SITUATION IN THE WORLD, ESPECIALLY IN ASIA, HAS CERTAINLY BEEN BECOMING MORE TENSE DAY AFTER DAY. PEACE AND SECURITY IN THE WORLD CANNOT BE ACHIEVED SEPARATELY. MUTUAL AND CLOSE COOPERATION BETWEEN NATIONS ARE MORE URGENTLY NEEDED THAN EVER BEFORE. SO WE BELIEVE THAT THE FREE WORLD...WILL SOON DISCOVER THAT THE ONLY WAY TO PROTECT NATIONAL SECURITY AND WORLD PEACE IS TO FORGE UNITY WITH EACH OTHER AND TO RENEW THE DETERMINATION TO FIGHT COMMUNISM...."

8. FIRST NOTING SUN YAT-SEN'S ADMONISHMENT "TO ALLY OURSELVES IN A COMMON STRUGGLE WITH THOSE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD WHO TREAT US ON THE BASIS OF EQUALITY" AND THAT CHIANG KAI-SHEK HAS "REMINDING US TO REMAIN IN THE DEMOCRATIC CAMP", THE MANIFESTO GOES ON TO STRIKE THE THEME OF SELF-RELIANCE EVEN MORE STRONGLY. "LET'S NOT ASK WHAT IMPACT THE WORSENING WORLD AND ASIAN SITUATION WILL HAVE ON US, BUT RATHER ASK WHETHER WE HAVE THE COURAGE, CONVICTION AND STRENGTH TO FACE THE ADVERSE INTERNATIONAL TIDES. LET'S NOT ASK WHETHER OTHER NATIONS WILL CHANGE THEIR POLICIES BUT RATHER ASK HOW MUCH CONTRIBUTION WE CAN OFFER TO THE DEFENSE OF ASIAN SECURITY AND WORLD PEACE.

9. "THE TRAGEDY IN INDOCHINA FURTHER PROVES THAT EACH NATION MUST BE SELF-RELIANT AND STAND ON ITS OWN FEET. A NATION MUST RELY ON ITS OWN SELF, DO ITS BEST AND THEN IT CAN CONTROL ITS OWN DESTINY. SO OUR FUTURE ENDEAVORS MUST BE DIRECTED TOWARD...FURTHER PROMOTION OF INDEPENDENCE AND SELF-RELIANCE--TO PROMOTE COOPERATION THROUGH SELF-HELP. ON THE ONE HAND WE MUST NOT HARBOR THE NOTION OF RELYING ON OTHERS WHILE STRENGTHENING INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION; ON THE OTHER HAND, WE MUST NOT REDUCE OUR EFFORTS FOR INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION WHILE SEEKING SELF-HELP AND LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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SELF-RELIANCE".

10. THIS SECTION ALSO DISCUSSES THE IMPORTANCE OF CHINA TO WORLD PEACE AND FREEDOM AND THE IMPORTANCE OF PRESIDENT CHIANG TO THE PARTY AND CLOSES WITH A CALL TO FULFILL NATIONAL GOALS.

1. COMMENT: WE SEE NOTHING UNUSUAL IN THE MANIFESTO WHICH CONTAINS MUCH RECOGNIZABLE BOILER PLATE. THE FIVE BASIC THEMES--CONTINUITY AFTER THE DEATH OF PRESIDENT CHIANG, REAFFIRMATION OF BASIC NATIONAL POLICIES, STRONG LEADERSHIP AT THE CENTER, SELF-RELIANCE, AND INTERDEPENDENCE (PRESUMABLY MEANING CONTINUED COOPERATION WITH THE US)--ARE IN LINE WITH CURRENT OFFICIAL PUBLIC STATEMENTS. THE FIRST TWO THEMES, CONTINUITY AND REAFFIRMATION OF

NATIONAL POLICIES, HAVE BEEN PLAYED HEAVILY IN THE MEDIA SINCE THE DEATH OF PRESIDENT CHIANG. THE EMPHASIS ON STRONG LEADERSHIP, I.E. PREMIER CHIANG CHING-KUO, HAS BEEN PARTICULARLY EMPHASIZED OVER THE LAST WEEK PRIOR TO THE MEETING. THE CONTRADICTORY THEMES OF SELF-RELIANCE AND INTERDEPENDENCE REPRESENT MAJOR PROPAGANDA THEMES OF THE GOVERNMENT NOTED SINCE EARLY THIS YEAR AND ARE DISCUSSED IN MORE DETAIL IN A SEPTEL.

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